I: Tennessee--127 E-9 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

618 arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basket-work plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) yam; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

242 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (nĭ; "boiled meat," mĭ ĭman e tit, from a nĭĭm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

246 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat
● 184 human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

1: Tessmann--128 E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 F109 Fang F109

266
• 184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /14̄/ [17] /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Lecomte (myūk-esŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebg̃mekūkūl̄), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdg̃ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (myŏn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dĭŋ̄n; plural, bĭŋ̄n, mŭŋ̄n), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkg̃ŋ̄n I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndiŋ̌ŋ̌ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leaflstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /191/ and set on fire at the top. It then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ myāh (plural) by the Ntum, ondō'h by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsī III Ntum, ondō'h Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okōō e myāh), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obɛ̌ndɛ̌m (1) or fɨ̌ha IV (2), as well as mɨ̌ha; among

1. Derived from abɛ̌, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndɛ̌m, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yɨ̌n, "dark, black"; e-yɨ̌n-di mōt, "Black (man), Negro."

754 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is
777 used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atûm, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine); it is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a); these medicines include nsŭ, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Passifloraceae
[278] Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undŏndŏle a ndžik) (1), leaves of evŭlĕme or ayŏne-beyu,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

[769] The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

● [184] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the
[152] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and thrash

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained.
[824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia
Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's
[825] tooth, into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒn) of a famous
[826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒnezǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (zǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēi-mōt), preferred by women
[826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

● [194]

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī-zā'lán), so the love will be as powerful
[821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsǔ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [825] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana [824] (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfū,ī'di, from a pfŭde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkŭ,bắn I; verb, a kŭ,bắn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

[184] Among the Jaunde the a pfū,ī'di is unknown because the cults [754] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

759 The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

4. Not taboo.

262 Domestic hen; Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkă'ń I) among the Ntum; Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwă); Agapornis pullarius (L.) (kŭ' o kiă'i, IV); Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (gbăwŭă III); Urotriorchis, Baza among others; Falconidae (obămedžū,i Fang); Ceutmochares and Clamator (nsŏ'mentŭ't I); Cuculus species (owū'a III) and Chrysococcyx (avē vē'abŏbe III); Lophocerus camurus (Cass.) (nkūkū'e I Ntum); Meropidae (otsidambū,i'), and Hirundinidae, such as Hirundo (mvā,i' IV) and Psalidoprocne species (kŭlejē'be III), but not eaten because of their small size; Tschitrea species (abŏbŏge III, mekō'dŏgō III); Campephaga (mbūī'jŏm I); Malaconotus gabonensis Shell. (ekō,); Dryoscopus senegalensis (Hartl.) (evŭ'gŭ); Oriolus species (mvū,i'n); Malimbus species (ngă e nkăn IV); Spermospiza guttata (Vieill.) (kŭ o sī, IV); Quelea erythrops (Hartl.) (sĕlĕkŏ'ŏ III Ntum), but not eaten because of their small size; Nigrita species (makūmašū,bo III), likewise; all Pycnonotidae and Nectariniidae (esi'sŏ' Ntum); Cisticola (ekūī'ni-otō,k) and Turdus pelios saturatus Cab. (etī'tŏ').

C. Reptiles

1. Never eaten.

Chamaeleon cristatus Stutsch (džingbwŏ' Fang); Lygosoma reichenowi Ptrs. (nšūĕ' III) and Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŏ'makūkūī'); Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III) (1). /189/

[114] 1. Eaten only among the Jaunde by boys.

2. ekī, bondúman.

Varanus niloticus L. (nkăă'k III); Cinixys erosa Schw. (kŭ IV); Mecistops cataphractus Cuv. (ngăn IV) and Crocodilus niloticus

262 (Laur.) (nkŭm I); the majority of snakes, with the exception of those species mentioned below.

3. ekī-abŭm or ekī-mŏn.

[843] Phython sebae Gmel. (mvŏ'm IV), until the birth (1); Grayia

[714] [184] 1. Among the Jaunde taboo for all those not initiated into the Sso cult.

smythii Leach (nsŏk I), likewise.

4. No taboo.

Tree snakes (ajă'ń).

D. Amphibia

1. Never eaten.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭń IV); Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn VII); Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏń I).

2. ekī bonduman.

Rana zenkeri Ndn. (edzŏ); Hylambates species (akăbĕ III Ntum).

3. Not taboo, but eaten only by women.

Rappia species (obă't); Xenopus calcaratus Bchh. and Ptrs. (miĕ'nezŏk IV).

E. Fish

1. ekī bonenga.

Large specimens of Clarias walkeri Gthr., since the women

411 and a wooden handle well-shaped for the hand. The handle is partly bound with an iron band or brass wire. The sword is placed inside a wooden sheath, consisting of two halves and frequently covered with monitor lizard skin, or in a brass sheath which has two brass eyelets for the hide strip worn over the shoulder from which the weapon hangs /246/ /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text/ (see Fig. 80). After the appearance of the chopping knives or choppers imported from Europe, the latter displaced the sword for a while and were then carried about in sheaths (Fig. 81); however, these are no longer in use today.

The battle-ax, called ovunebokui, "axe of the Pygmies" [184] (Fig. 82), is of lesser importance and is to be found only among the Fang, especially the southern ones, but even among them only in small numbers. It can be used only for short-range fighting. Its wedge-shaped blade with a convex cutting edge and /247/ corners curved inward, is fitted into the handle, the short lower half of which is round while the upper half is flattened out.

As a protective weapon, three kinds of shields are in use: the wooden shield, the shield made of buffalo hide (Fig. 83), and the shield made of an elephant's ear. The latter two are supposed to protect an individual man. They have lost their importance since the appearance of the firearm, and today they have /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ become quite rare. The wooden shield (stationary shield, Fig. 84), on the other hand, protects the entire troop of warriors and is, as it were, a portable rampart carried ahead by one man, while the others hide behind it. When the enemies clash, they shoot from behind the wooden guard, and in case it becomes necessary to flee, the shield is simply abandoned. It is made from a slab of wood from the umbrella tree and is approximately 145 centimeters long and 37 centi- [53] meters wide. The outer surface is covered with patterns carved in relief, such as we have seen in Section 9 /Ed., Vol. I/.

726 The battles of the Pangwe are usually only to settle hostilities between neighboring villages and hence are limited to small-scale warfare, that is, to a series of surprise attacks in which the attacker naturally has the advantage and thus "wins." Such encounters, however, give the tribe their warlike reputation; the

[Text continues on page 97]

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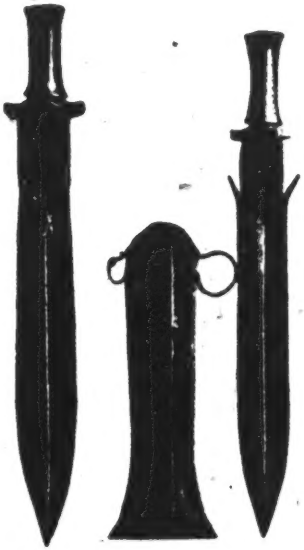

Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand com- [824] bat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax (asas) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text./

722 In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this 712 is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

836 entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a
848 man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

835 We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood
184 relationship is taboo (ekĭ). Such relationship includes:

1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized oson -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zămadulu III or simply zăma III, the verb being a dulu zăma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zăma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

835 Where zămadulu is still taboo, a payment must be made to
684 the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

622 The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
595 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkūkūma) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

837 The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bassá country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

785 554 831 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding; then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 785 The custom of miǎk consecration was formerly practiced throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike [184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom [171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 789 556 831 [824] The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon [824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tǎge III, from a tǎk, "weak," because [833] the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon [825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

524 857 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 153 [184] To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it consists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

[211] To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

sǒ' gbwē" , mvǒ,ń kī,ń = Sso antelope's horn: "gbuä" (onomatopoetic, in German, tü); rain: "king" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, bum). The horn of the Sso antelope whistles: "tü," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "bum."

2: Tessmann--188 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Stone Game

524 Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which
[171] is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn
[177] became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum
[184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndǎ = house; plural, mandǎ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the
[184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngŏ̀k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sṓngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akŭ̀n because of the large black beads (akŭ̀n) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion.
[824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the
[194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĭa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (să; plural, besă, derived from esă "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi-ɓ̆' I), [831] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from [824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abăm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text. / /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dŏ abĭa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES
on
THE FAN TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE OGOOUÉ (GABON)

by
Édouard Trézenem

Notice

121 The notes which we present here do not aim to be a monograph on the entire Fan [Fang] nation but only a purely objective description of the present life of the Fan tribes which inhabit the Ogooué region. This description, moreover, does not pretend to be without gaps.

121 On many points, particularly regarding the religious life, the cus-
● 184 toms of these tribes may appear to be quite different from those described by the authors who have spoken about the Fan and even about those tribes which live farther inland, towards the lands of the Woleu-N'tem or of the Ivindo [River]. In the Ogooué [area], these differences seem to be due to continued contact with Europeans, to the influence of Christian missions which have a catechist in each village, and to the expansion of relations with neighboring peoples.

We will not discuss these in principle, nor will we attempt to follow the progressive evolution of the tribes, having in mind only a work of documentation.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

[131] The region where we began our inquiry is situated below the
133 equator, in Gabon, in the [area of the] middle Ogooué. In this, a
137 land largely of forests, one finds in the west, on the banks of the river and its tributaries (the Abanga at the right, the Mbumi at the left) low, heavily forested areas, flooded in the rainy season, from which arise a few narrow ridges [66], some dozen meters in height at the most, where villages have been established. Many marshes, and lakes

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

162 percent. Only the Koje (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Ozip form the Canton of Oyem. In Bissok Canton, the
614 population is dominated by the Yengwi and Yemisom tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bokwe (allied to the Ndog tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

> 2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sole name — a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
614 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
614 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
●184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
614 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angonâmvé coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyèk in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Kojé at Bitam and Oyem, the Ožip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

4. Towns

361 621 This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

178 361 621 [19] In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages. Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked. "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the [184] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewôndo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewôndo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication, which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking relationship between the families of the participants, which may continue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

> 1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas" is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

> 2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

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had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

[534]

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

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Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

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French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a ntôl môt, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejôô bôt, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.